teeth are as uncouth as those of a dog." The excessively large horns of an ox are called !hõ! //nãgu. An oath that is often heard is: "!hõ! ǂkxaraga ũ" i.e. "You with the big testicle." (Here as in other cases of groups of words that belong together, I have only indicated the tonal level of the vowels where there was a question of a special differentiation.)

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[104]

A Hottentot, who found one of my people in the described position, struck him on the knees with the words "ne !hõ! //goabats gye nĩ fũ", i.e. "you should stop lying with such uncouth knees," because it brings bad luck, as I found out in reply to my question. [777]●

Placing the knee high, which is unavoidable when a long-legged person squats, is mocked. Thus a tall slim Herero girl was teased with the words: "/ũitsibeb kxoma gai //goaga (e)Ĩs," i.e. "you with your tall (towering) knees like a fly." (The fly itself is called !hõ! //goab because of its long legs which seem just as uncouth as the knees of the squatting, long-legged person).

A woman who is half resting on the ground seems to be in a squatting position at first glance: The upper part of the thighs go straight up and the knees stand correspondingly high and are severely bent. (If the woman still wears her native costume, she pulls the front apron between her legs and under her seat when she sits down.) But the body does not rest on the knee joints as it does when squatting, but sits upright on the heavy fatty padding of the seat. Men or thin people can sit in this position without back support only when they have relatively long hips; otherwise they sit on a foot-high stool that folds up (ǂnũais), the top of which is covered with straps. If the woman, who is sitting on her fatty buttocks, wishes to do needle work, she spreads her upper thighs a bit and thus gives her arms sufficient freedom of movement. 516

If the woman is nursing a child, she sits down the way an oriental woman does, with upper thigh spread and flat, crosses her bent lower legs and draws them up in such a way that the leg of the one side rests on the foot on the other. In the trough thus formed by the woman's legs, the nursling lies so safely that the woman has both arms free for work. I also frequently found older men sitting on the ground in the position of nursing women. 516 853

[182] The younger men usually sit down in such a way that they rest on the ground without back support on the hindmost part of the 516

artificially-fed creatures were given the breast on the fourth day, they were often too weak to suck greedily. 853

[222] The child is weaned by the mother rubbing the bitter juice of an aloe on her nipples. If the mother suffers because the milk is no longer being taken, she is milked a few times directly into the ashes of the hearth fire. Just as the milk fizzles away there, it is also supposed to dry up in the woman. 862 [278]

d) Childbed. Directly after delivery the woman is covered up as warmly as possible so that she will sweat. 844

Eyewitnesses reported to me a peculiar custom which is probably no longer practiced today. Several women press firmly on the hip bone of the woman who has just given birth and is still lying on her side. Sometimes this process of "hip sitting" ǂnũǂhum, is done in such a way that the person performing this act, while placing her foot on the hip of the woman, takes hold of a hut pole with her arm in order to press against the woman even more firmly. The purpose of this is to press the bones together again which, according to their beliefs, were forced apart by the act of giving birth. That also explains the rule that the woman in labor must lie on her side. The bones of one side are supposed to press with their weight against those of the other side. If she were on her back, her pelvis would, as they say, spread apart.

A Hottentot woman (of the old school), does not touch water; not even after the delivery is washing attempted. A white woman wanted to place a cold wet cloth on a Hottentot woman who was bleeding severely and had fainted several times. When she took it from the water and wrung it out, the native women left the hut and made the white woman responsible for the death of the woman which they believed was unavoidable after touching her with water. 846

The new mother rests in bed until the third day and sometimes until the seventh day. Only the blanket under her is changed. To take care of her needs, the woman leaves her bed from the first day.

To help the after-pains disappear, a hot infusion is given, made from the same roasted and crushed rooty formations that are used in the care of navel wounds.

After the seventh day, or sometimes not until after the tenth day, the new mother usually pursues her usual activities. I have not been able to check the information of one woman [223] that menstruation begins a month after birth, even when a child is nursed. [841]

In conclusion, a word about multiple births. It is not considered good luck to have twins. A case of triplets occurred in the year 1897 845 [777]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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others, however, said that the child became a *gebo aob* (seer).[1] Misshapen or deformed children, on the other hand, especially girls, were, according to some writers on the Cape Hottentots, buried alive in the hole of some animal or exposed, lest they should bring ill luck on the community; while the death of the mother in childbed usually also meant the burial with her of her living baby, unless some other woman could be found to suckle it.[2]

Twin births among the Naman are to-day regarded as unlucky, but the children are not killed, nor are there any special ceremonies connected with them. Often the mother cannot rear them both, when one of the mothers-in-law or a sister helps her.[3] There is evidence enough in the literature relating to the Cape Hottentots, however, to show the former existence in this division of special usages connected with twins. Graevenbroeck remarks simply that if a woman bears twins, one of them, especially if a girl, is either exposed as a prey to wild animals, or on a bush, or even buried alive, the reason for this custom being the inability of the mother to rear them both.[4] Kolb, on the other hand, gives a detailed description of the manner in which twin births were greeted.[5] If the children are boys, he says, the parents observe an *andersmachen* or feast by killing two fat oxen for the entertainment of the whole kraal, who all rejoice at the birth as a great blessing. But if they are girls there is little or no rejoicing, and only a couple of sheep at the most are slaughtered. Often enough, in such a case, the parents will refuse to rear both children, and pleading either poverty or the scarcity of the mother's milk, will do away with the worse featured of the two by burying her alive or exposing her on the bough of a tree or among the bushes. Similarly, if the twins are of opposite sexes, the girl will be exposed or buried alive, while great rejoicings are made for the boy.

845 (304

In this connection it may be recalled that the motive assigned by Kolb to the custom of excising one testicle is the fear of the women that if they were to have intercourse with a man who had not had this operation performed upon him they would bear twins. There is nothing in Kolb's account, however, to show that the father of twins has to undergo any special treatment at the birth, as one might expect

[1] "Social Value of Water," 520; cf. Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 220.
[2] Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 365; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 334; Sparman, *Voyage to the Cape*, i, 359.
[3] Schultze, op. cit., 223; private information from Mrs. Hoernlé.
[4] Op. cit., 365.
[5] Op. cit., 66–8; cf. Fritsch, loc. cit.; Ten Rhyne, "Account of the Cape of Good Hope," 242; Thunberg, *Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa*, ii, 195.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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881 574 may be as fruitful as a young cow and have many children. The other friends repeat the wish.[1]

881 535 Towards evening the girl's friends enter the hut to fetch her out, and for the last time she must leave it by the special opening made for her at the back. Her friends surround her, and for a time try to keep her from the view of the youths, for she is very shy. The youths now start the reed dance, forming the inner ring, while the girls, with the *oaxais* in their midst, dance round them in an outer ring. Every now and then there is a change of partners, and gradually the youths get to the side of the girl and choose her as partner, till [777] in the end her shyness has all gone. During the dancing she throws *buchu* over the men and boys as she sees them; this is supposed to bring good luck. The dancing often lasts through the night, and when it is over the final round of rites begins, reintroducing the girl to her daily tasks, "freeing her, as it were," says Mrs. Hoernlé, "from the spell under which she has hung."

881 Early on the following morning she is led out of her hut by the *aba tards*, accompanied by her girl and boy friends. She is conducted round the kraal, and as she goes along picks up earth from the cattle-folds and strews it about, plucks twigs and blossoms from the various trees and bushes she passes by, and also scatters *buchu* as she goes. Every male thing, too, she touches, be it ram, calf, or man, as well as the milking vessels in the huts. The explanation given for this was that such a young girl brings fertility to all she touches, and that the day after she had come out of her hut it was sure to rain and there would be plenty in the land.[2] Next she milks a cow, if possible a young [784] cow calving for the first time, the *aba tards* supporting her arm as she does so. This milk is */nau*, to be drunk only by the old woman herself or others of her age. Once this milking has taken place, the girl can resume her milking duties with impunity.

881 783 Similarly she is reintroduced to all her other daily tasks by the *aba tards*. They gather wood together, collect roots and berries together in the veld, and so on. Finally, towards evening, when the usual time comes for getting the household supply of water, they go together, accompanied by all the old women of the kraal, to the water-hole. Here the *aba tards* takes wet mud from the water and rubs it on the girl's legs, then with a branch in her hand splashes water over the girl. Finally both of them take hold of the branch and strike the

[1] "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 307, quoted by Hoernlé; cf. Wikar, op. cit., 100.
[2] Cf. also Hoernlé, *Richtersveld*, 17; Alexander, loc. cit.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
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The prime duty of the men is to pasture the cattle and tend them, and to protect them against attack of lions or any wild beast or enemies. With sure aim they strike attackers with javelin or arrows heavily poisoned.

At the fall of evening the pastured cattle are brought into the enclosure, and each beast is tethered to a stake by the left forefoot. The women then draw the milk from the swollen udders, and if any cow, as commonly happens, tries to withhold it, at once comes a woman, or sometimes a man, who applies her mouth to the vent of the obstinate beast and blows in.[15]) By this means the milk is made to flow from the reluctant udder.

They wear a wallet hanging from the neck on to the breast, in which they carry an arrow-head, a knife, tobacco, and a tube with which to drink the smoke of it, with a few trifles in addition, and one or two copper coins of which they have managed to cheat our fellows, and, what is of most importance, a piece of wood no bigger than a grape, as an amulet. An old-womanish superstition makes them suppose that this piece of wood will avert all dangers if darkness should surprise them in open country infested with lions and snakes, when they must pass the night in the bush under the open sky in watchful vigilance.[16])

With regard to the scarab beetle their credulity leads them to entertain a similar illusion, and they hold it to be of good omen if they find one in their huts, for they worship them as divine, nor will they suffer a European to attack one, much less to injure one; they gently catch it up, carry it off to a deserted place, and set it down there in safety, upon doing which they look forward to a lucky day.[17])

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[17]) G.'s "scarab beetle" is really the Mantis, still popularly known as "Hotnotsgod" (Hottentot's god) in S.A. The Bushmen paid a good deal of reverence to this insect, which figures very prominently in their mythology, but among the Hottentots it is not a mythological figure, although, as G.'s description shows, its appearance was regarded as a favourable omen of the highest significance. Kolb is even more lavish in his account of the joy with which its alighting on a person or hut was greeted (*op. cit.*, 416 f.). The modern Naman still believe that it brings luck if it creeps on a person, and no one is allowed to kill it (*cf.* Schapera, *op. cit.*, 243).

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

776 821 It may suffice to state, that I have observed the same dancing and singing towards the moon, and that I fully can endorse Kolb's statements. As will be seen in another page of this essay, the moon really is considered to be a deity, *who promises men immortality.*

776 But to return to our worthy Magister, he speaks also of another being, whom he calls the *other Captain of less power*, from whom some of the natives (the sorcerers, !gai-aogu) have learnt witchcraft. *He never does good to men, but always harm. They, therefore, must fear him, show respect to him, and serve him.*

This coincides, according to my own experience, with the ||Gauna worship of the ‡Auni tribe, close to Walefish Bay and Sandwich Harbour, who offer prayers to ||Gauna, although they call him an evil-doer, who even kills them when they are out hunting. If Kolb says the name of this being is *Touqūoa*, then he is mistaken; he has simply misunderstood his informer.

825 On pages 416, 417, and 418, Kolb speaks of the worship of the Mantis insect. This has been doubted by various authorities. But from what I often had occasion to observe, Kolb's remarks are quite correct. The Namaquas believe that this insect brings luck if it creeps on a person, and one is not allowed to kill it. Strange enough, they call it also ||Gaunab, as they call the enemy of Tsūi-|| goab.

[111]

778 At the conclusion of his remarks on the religion of the Khoikhoi, Kolb supplies us with some valuable information about the places of worship. He says: "These Hottentots have neither churches nor chapels, made with the hands of men, but they consider in their mind that certain places are sacred, because their ancestors have received great luck at such spots. Those places are to be found in the deserts, and consist of stone heaps, others are rivers, ... and they never pass such a deserted spot or hill without offering worship to the saint who, according to their belief, inhabits the place, and who has done so much good to so many of them." (P. 418.)

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

1. At a child's birth a fire is made in the house with the firedrill (dorob). No steel or flint or matches are allowed. This fire is to be maintained until the navel of the child has healed, and the umbilical cord has fallen off. Nothing may be cooked or roasted on that fire. If these points be not strictly observed, the child will die. 844 372

2. If a Khoikhoi go out hunting, his wife will kindle a fire. She may not do anything else but watch the fire and keep it alive. If the fire should be extinguished, the husband will not be lucky. If she does not like to make a fire, then she must go to the water and commence throwing it about the ground. If she is tired, her servant must continue pouring water about. If this be neglected, the husband will not be successful. 224 372 777

3. J. Campbell, visiting v. d. Kemp's mission station, Bethelsdorp, in the eastern province, in 1812, says:— "They (Hottentot women) likewise gave me a piece of something like rosin, which is found on the sea-shore. Before their husbands went to hunt they used to set this on fire, and while the fire ascended they prayed to the *Great Being* for their success. 224

4. I have already mentioned that throughout Great Namaqualand it is believed that in each fountain lives a snake, and if that snake leave the fountain or be killed, the fountain will dry up. This snake is called the ‡*Gâbeb*, "the one which lives in a hole." 823 825

5. If before the commencement of the rainy season snakes move about more than usually, the Khoikhoi say there will be abundance of rain that year. 825

6. Capt. Alexander tells us in his admirable book, "Expedition of Discovery to the Country of the Namaquas, &c.," vol. i. 115: "Hares I found plenty of at the Orange River mouth; there is also the large eland-buck to be found here; *and an immense snake is occasionally seen*, whose trace on the sand is a foot broad. The natives say that, if coiled up, the circumference of this snake is

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

which, according to his belief, will soon bring the animal down. A hunter also may not sleep on his back, and pull his legs up, so that his knees stand bent up into the air. If he has done so he is sure to have bad luck.

19. About a future life there are certain indications, from the following sayings:—"That the "Stars are the eyes of the deceased," and also that the Stars are the souls of the deceased. The Khoikhoi appear to connect "eye" and "soul" in the same way, as is expressed in German, "Das Auge ist der Spiegel der Seele." The eye is the reflector of the soul. There is also a form of imprecation: "Thou happy one, may misfortune fall on thee, from the Star of my grandfather." This proves, beyond doubt, the belief in a life after this.

20. Ghosts and spectres have various names. ǁGaunagu (msc. plur.), ǀHaiǀnugu (msc. plur.), Sobokhoin (com. plur.), and ǀHai-khoin (com. plur.). There is a saying: ǁNaña ǁgauna ta ni—*i.e.*, I will hear it, if I am a ǁgauna—this means, if I am a ghost, then I will have a better insight into things, which I now do not understand.

Also, if a person has lost something and cannot find it, they say: ǀHaiǀnub ke ǀã, Fawnfoot has stolen it.

21. These ghosts and spectres are believed in dark nights to leave the graves and come to the kraals. They make a rattling noise as if they were dragging skins over rocks and stones in order to frighten the people. This kind of spectres goes by the special name of ǃhausan. They are very mischievous, and their greatest pleasure is to beat people almost to death.

Here we have the key to the original meaning of the word ǁGaunab. He was at first a ghost, a mischief-maker and evil-doer, whose greatest aim was to harm people and to destroy (ǁgau, ǁgou) them. Some people are said to die from the influence of this evil spirit, and these are called ǁgauna ǁõra khoin—*i.e.*, people who died the ǁgauna death, or devil's death. Especially if people are not buried, but devoured by